

CHAPTER V

WHAT WARS HAVE COST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN considering the expenditure on past wars it would be necessary to add to the direct expenditure of Treasuries the losses sustained by populations through destruction of property, shortening of production, loss of trade, and generally from economic perturbations. The total of such losses would unquestionably exceed the total of the sums directly devoted by governments to the carrying on of war. But this total, of course, can only be estimated approximately. According to M. Leroy Beaulieu the expenditure by England in consequence of the French wars of the Revolution and of the First Empire, amounted to £840,000,000; and the losses of men in Europe amounted to 2,100,000. Some authorities estimate this loss of men at a much higher figure; Sir Francis Duvernois finds that France alone, up to the year 1799, had lost $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of men.

The cost of the war with France from 1812 to 1815, according to the accounts presented by Prince Barclay de Tolly to the Emperor, amounted to £23,325,000. It is interesting to note some of the larger items in this account. Thus we find that £10,650,000 were devoted to pay, £1,800,000 to provisions, £1,050,000 to the purchase of horses, and £1,200,000 to rations.

In reality the expenditure caused by this war was very much greater. The issue of assignats amounted to £43,850,000, and debts in consequence of loans, &c., to £22,950,000. In addition to this, Russia expended the

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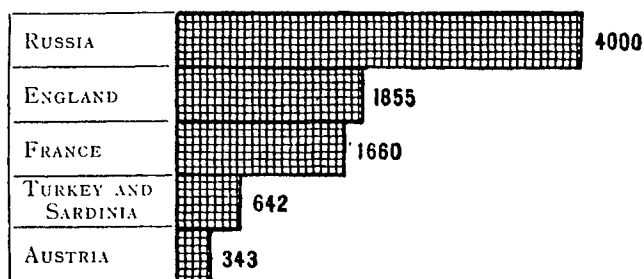
subsidies received from England, and large sums, both in money and in kind, contributed by private individuals.

The Crimean is the first of great wars the expenditure of which can be defined with accuracy. The extraordinary expenditure caused by this war amounted to :

England	.	:	£74,200,000	or	1.855,000,000 francs.
France	.	.	66,400,000		1,660,000,000 „
Russia	.	.	160,000,000		4,000,000,000 „
Austria	.	.	13,720,000		343,000,000 „
Turkey and Sardinia	.	.	25,680,000		642,000,000 „
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Total	.	.	£340,000,000	or	8,500,000,000 francs.

Let us present these totals graphically :

Expenditure on the Crimean War in Millions of Francs.



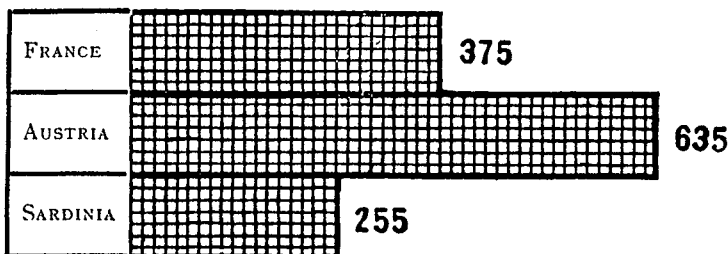
Thus the Crimean war laid on Europe an additional burden of £340,000,000. The total of the indirect losses caused by this war it is quite impossible to estimate.

The expenditure on the war of 1859 is thus estimated by Leroy Beaulieu :

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France	.	.	£15,000,000	or	375,000,000 francs.
Austria	.	.	25,400,000		635,000,000 „
Sardinia	.	.	10,200,000		255,000,000 „
Total			£50,600,000	or	1,265,000,000 francs.

Expenditure on the War of 1859 in Millions of Francs.



After this we come to the North American Civil War. In the course of four years the Northern States put in the field 2,656,000 volunteers, and the Southern States 1,100,000. The North expended in this struggle £560,000,000, and the Southern States about the same sum. In a word, this conflict cost the United States £1,000,000,000 direct outlay, and probably double that sum from destruction of property and decline in production. Estimating the average value of a slave at £40, we find that an expenditure of £160,000,000 would have been sufficient for the peaceful decision of this question.

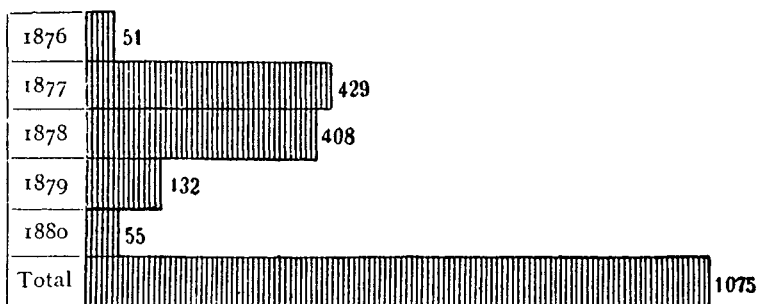
In the Danish war of 1864 the expenditure was much less. It amounted to about £7,200,000 for Denmark, and about the same for Prussia and Austria together. The Prussian-Austrian war of 1866 involved an expenditure of about £66,000,000. In the war of 1870 the expenditure of Germany was covered by the French indemnity. As relates to France, the following are the statistics of her losses in the war of 1870: From August 1, 1870, to April 1, 1871, France lost 3864 men through desertion, 310,449 taken prisoners, 4756 dis-

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charged from the service for inefficiency, &c., 21,430 falling on the battlefield, 14,398 dying from wounds, and 223,410 discharged for different reasons, including sickness. The money expenditure and losses of France amounted to : Military indemnity and payment for outlay on occupation, £225,118,554 2s. 6d. ; contributions from Paris and other towns, £10,040,000. The total expenditure, indemnity and contributions caused by the war with Germany amounted to £506,680,000. To this must be added losses from interruption of communications and work, so that the general total of losses caused by a war over the candidature of a Hohenzollern prince amounted to about one thousand millions of pounds sterling.

The extraordinary expenditure of Russia caused by the war of 1877-78 was as follows :

	£	s.
1876	7,649,717	2
1877	64,399,213	7
1878	61,221,445	10
1879	19,816,397	8
1880	8,222,724	9
Total	161,309,497	16



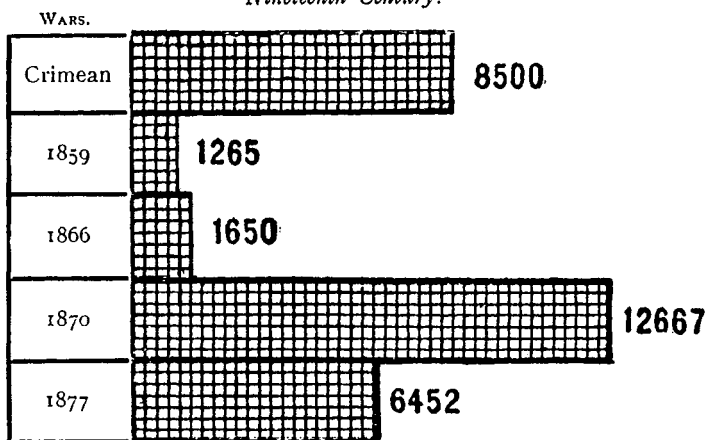
The figures in the diagram stand for millions of roubles (a rouble being taken as equivalent to 3s.)

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Of the losses and expenditure of Turkey statistics are not available. But taking the losses of Turkey at half of those sustained by Russia—that is, at no more than £80,700,000. we get an expenditure on both sides of £241,950,000.

Thus we find that from 1853 to 1878, a period of twenty-five years, the expenditure on the great wars of Europe, that is, the Crimean war, the war of 1859, the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, and the war with Turkey of 1877-78, reaches the immense sum of £1,221,360,000.

Expenditure of Europe on War in the second half of the Nineteenth Century.



The figures in heavy type stand for millions of francs, the total of which amount to £1,221,360,000.

But heavy as is the cost of actual warfare, the burdens entailed by militarism in time of peace are no less crushing, and no easier to estimate precisely. The need of preparation for unforeseen events entails a growth of expenditure not only in the military and naval departments, but in other departments of government. In 1883 the military expenditure of Russia is defined as

£30,234,693 3s., but this in no way formed the limit to the military outlays of Russia; for pensions, and outlays by the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Finances arising directly out of military necessities, increased this outlay by £3,000,000. The building and exploitation of railways further complicates such estimates. In 1893 the Ministry of War expended £33,829,681 7s. But to these figures it would strictly be necessary to add the following expenditure. Ministry of Finances, pensions over £900,000; assistance to lower ranks, £675,000; recruiting, £93,750, and extraordinary expenditure by the Ministry of War in re-armament over £4,050,000. This extra expenditure, with other smaller items which we omit, show that the military budget of 1893 must be increased by nearly £6,000,000.

But it is by no means sufficient to take into account direct expenses alone; the diminution of the revenue in consequence of a strained economic condition is no less grave. In addition to this the interest paid by states on loans concluded to satisfy military needs must be taken into account as one of the consequences of the permanent armaments of Europe. An attempt to present in figures these losses and expenditures would lead too far. We must confine ourselves to a short comparison of military expenditure as expressed in the budgets of different countries.

First of all it is interesting to see the amounts which the Great Powers, that is, Prussia, Austria, Italy, Russia, France, and England, spent and spend yearly for the maintenance of their land and sea forces, the outlay of every thousand inhabitants, and the percentage of increase in twenty-two years.

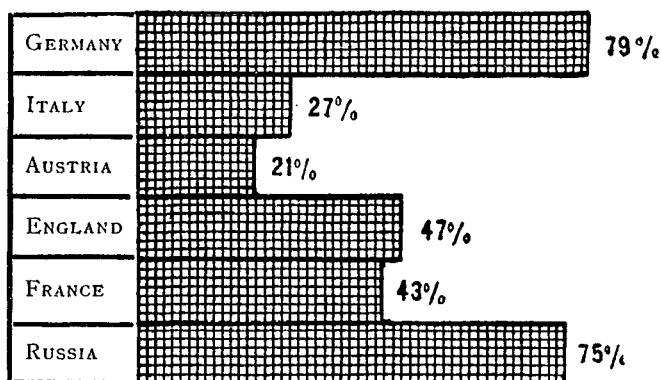
Year.	Maintenance of Armies and Navies.	Burden on 1000 Inhabitants.	Increase per cent. taking 1874 as 100 per cent.
	£	£ s.	
1874 . .	116,040,000	432 3	100
1884 . .	136,005,000	458 11	117
1891 . .	169,845,000	530 11	146
1896 . .	178,995,000	586 4	154

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The above table shows that military and naval expenditure develops ceaselessly, and since 1884 more rapidly than in preceding years. Thus war budgets grow not only proportionately with the increase of the population, but in a degree much greater. In 1874 every inhabitant of these countries paid eight shillings and eightpence; in 1891 this figure had grown to ten shillings and sixpence, in 1896 almost to twelve shillings.

The table opposite shows the increase in the expenditure on the creation and maintenance of armaments of each state separately.

Increase per Cent. of Military Expenditure between 1874 and 1896.



From the above diagram we see that the greatest increase in the war budget in this period took place in Germany, after which Russia follows, then England, France, Italy and Austria. If we take the period 1874-91 we will see that Germany most of all increased her armaments in the latter year, expending twice as much as seventeen years before. After her follows Italy, and then Russia. If we take the period 1874-84 we find Italy at the head, after her follow France, Germany, England and Austria. Russia in this period not only did not increase her war budget, but even diminished it by 4 per cent. It is

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Increase per Cent. of Military Expenditure in 1896 in comparison with 1874.

	1874.		1884.		1891.		1896.			
	War Budget in millions of pounds sterling.	Per cent. increase in comparison with 1874.	War Budget in millions of pounds sterling.	Per cent. increase in comparison with 1874.	Military Budget in millions of pounds sterling.	Per cent. increase in comparison with 1874.	Per cent. increase in comparison with 1884.	War Budget in millions of pounds sterling.	Per cent. increase in comparison with 1874.	Per cent. increase in comparison with 1891.
Germany .	17.76	25	22.125	100	40.61	61	79	31.89	44	—10
Italy .	9.6	31	12.665	50	14.445	15	27	12.195	—3	—16
Austria .	11.19	12	12.51	27	14.19	13	21	13.515	8	—5
England .	23.595	24	29.385	25	29.55	0.6	47	33.77	18	18
Russia .	29.625	—4	28.395	46	42.855	51	7	51.975	83	21
France .	24.27	28	30.975	37	33.195	7	43	34.635	12	4
Total .	116.04	17	136.055	46	174.845	25	54	177.98	32	5

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interesting and characteristic that in the very time when Russia's armaments were being decreased, Prince Bismarck and his supporters attempted to spread throughout Germany and all Europe the idea that Russia was arming against Germany. It was this policy which induced the Reichsrath to consent to increased outlays on armaments, thus dragging all Europe deeper into the gulf of militarism. If we compare the two rival states of Central Europe, Germany and France, we will see that in 1874 France expended £6,450,000 more than Germany, in 1884, £8,850,000 more, in 1891, £2,400,000 less, and in 1896, £2,700,000 more than Germany. But general figures such as these give no clear idea of the increase of the burden on the population.

It is necessary here to call attention to one circumstance. The expenditure cost of maintenance of soldiers constantly increases, in consequence of perfected technique, the greater knowledge required, and, at the same time, improvement in food and quarters. From statistics showing the strength and cost of armies we have drawn up the following table showing the yearly cost of the maintenance of a single soldier.

	1874	1884	1891	1896
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
Russia . . .	33 15	26 5	36 12	56 8
France . . .	37 10	43 19	43 19	44 11
Germany . . .	39 0	44 8	67 19	51 9
Austria . . .	34 1	39 15	45 18	39 0
Italy . . .	36 0	33 0	41 11	35 17
England . . .	60 0	88 19	81 3	77 5
Average .	40 1	49 1	52 17	50 15

Attempts have been made to estimate the comparative cost of maintenance of a cavalry soldier, an infantryman, and an artilleryman. From these calculations it appears

that the cost of armament constitutes only a small percentage of the general expenditure of maintenance. As the military value of every soldier depends largely upon the greater or less degree of perfection of his firearms, a natural consequence appears in the ceaseless endeavours of every state to improve upon the weapons of its rivals. From this rivalry springs one of the most important items of expenditure on armies. Naval forces demand even greater changes in armament. Old vessels have scarcely any fighting value, and can only be employed when the conflict of newer types has resulted in mutual extermination.

In order to give some idea of the vastness of the sums expended on fleets we quote some statistics as to the cost of the creation of the French fleet. The cost of the modern fleet of France, according to figures given in *Engineering* amounted to £29,172,000; its actual modern value is £18,538,000, to which must be added expenditure on artillery to a sum of £2,113,666 13s. 4d. Consequently we see that two-sevenths of the value of the French fleet is irrecoverably lost.

The following table (p. 138) from the *Rasvedtchik* gives a detailed analysis of the expenditure of the Great Powers on armies and fleets in 1893.

From this table may be seen the immense sums swallowed up in military preparations. But in addition to the ordinary expenditure on armies and fleets, the sum of which rises from £12,000,000 in Austria-Hungary to £45,000,000 in Russia, every state makes extraordinary expenditure on the increase of its army and fleet. In 1893 such outlay in Russia and France reached the sum of £6,840,000 for the army, and in the Triple Alliance £10,066,000. As concerns extraordinary outlay on fleets we have statistics only for Austria-Hungary and Germany; in 1893 these states expended £2,254,000. These sums increase year by year. And they are by no means confined to the Great Powers.

At the same time, and as an inevitable consequence, the essential requirements of the people remain unsatisfied. In Austria in 1896, £13,500,000 were devoted to the army

	ARMY.					
	Ordinary Outlay during 1893.					
	Austria-Hungary.	Germany.	Italy.	Russia.	France.	Great Britain.
Administration	£ 128,280	£ 149,200	£ 87,960	£ 1,646,360	£ 153,640	£ 291,200
Technical Department	304,360	65,920	87,000	—	55,360	—
General Staff	196,000	329,760	161,200	—	500,720	43,960
Intendancy	149,880	109,840	127,600	—	573,800	124,000
Instruction	168,040	300,160	190,640	1,182,120	515,080	111,800
Pay, &c.	4,118,160	5,922,120	4,535,640	9,013,680	8,865,600	6,800,000
Provisions }	3,200,000	5,928,400	1,380,560	6,071,040	3,951,000	1,686,480
Forage }	—	—	708,440	2,567,840	2,807,720	524,000
Medical Department	330,520	326,720	95,440	576,920	373,280	283,360
Transport	—	326,400	—	1,101,600	555,800	581,440
Uniforms	1,880,000	1,056,160	719,440	3,181,960	2,579,680	1,219,560
Remount	306,760	475,720	196,280	—	700,680	78,800
Artillery establishments	8,800	1,366,000	207,000	1,418,480	549,120	1,613,760
Engineering establishments	240,000	171,160	239,920	—	636,360	185,880
Various	16,280	4,921,080	847,920	10,509,880	466,960	3,896,960
Total	11,047,080	21,448,640	9,585,040	37,269,880	23,285,400	17,441,200
Extraordinary expenditure	2,014,360	7,856,240	196,000	4,737,120	2,098,900	—
Total expenditure on Army	13,061,440	29,304,880	9,781,040	42,007,000	25,384,360	17,441,200
FLEET.						
Ordinary expenditure	1,111,280	2,444,800	3,989,560	7,982,840	10,224,000	14,240,080
Extraordinary expenditure	256,480	1,997,880	—	—	—	—
Total expenditure on Fleet	1,367,760	4,442,680	3,989,560	7,982,840	10,224,000	14,240,080

and fleet, while only £2,850,000, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ times less was devoted to popular education. In Italy in the same year the expenditure on armaments was £12,650,000, while £1,500,000, or eight times less, was spent upon education. In France £32,400,000 are spent upon the army, and £6,600,000, or a fifth part, on education generally. In Russia the army devours £41,520,000, while education receives but £3,540,000, that is, a little more than a twelfth.

These figures speak for themselves; and give a plain indication of the degree of intellectual and moral culture we may expect from mankind when all its labour and strength are swallowed up in the creation and maintenance of armed forces. The United States in this respect have an infinitely better record. There all, from the children of the millionaire Vanderbilt down to the poorest peasant, attend the public schools, and receive elementary education. There knowledge for all is free and obligatory. The state makes it a duty to guard and maintain the popular schools.

But expenditure on past wars, and on armaments in peace have but a secondary importance in determining the significance of modern armaments. It is more important to estimate the expenditure which may be expected in a future war.